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ALL NATO CAPITALS 4638

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 6239/1

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL, NATO

SUBJECT: KEY ELEMENTS OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE: DURATION OF
HOSTILITIES AND WARNING OF WAR - DRC MEETING NOVEMBER 7

REF: A. USNATO 6121

B. USNATO 5938

C. USNATO 5881

D. USNATO 5761

E. USNATO 5768

F. STATE 230776

G. USNATO 5730

SUMMARY: AT NOVEMBER 7 MEETING, DRC DISCUSSED DURATION OF
HOSTILITIES AND WARNING TIME AS KEY ELEMENTS OF MINISTERIAL
GUIDANCE. MOST ALLIES (INCLUDING UK AND FRG) FAVORED IS
DRAFT TEXTS (REFS A AND B) OVER US POSITIONS (REFS C AND D).

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DRC AGREED TO INCLUDE IS AN US TEXTS ON THESE SUBJECTS AS
ALTERNATIVES FOR DPC MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION. EXCHANGE MADE
CLEAR THAT MOST IF NOT ALL ALLIES WILL SUPPORT IS DRAFTS:
STRESSING SHORT NATO PREPARATION TIME, SHORT AND VERY INTENSE

WAR NECESSITY FOR EARLY RECOURSE TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS. MISSION COMMENT: DRC WILL REVIEW THESE TWO KEY ELEMENTS FOR THE LAST TIME NOVEMBER 15. MISSION INTENDS TO BASE FINAL US TEXT ON DURATION OF HOSTILITIES ON REF C, WHICH INCLUDED WASHINGTON LANGUAGE REF F. MISSION WILL PREPARE FINAL PAPER ON WARNING OF WAR ALONG LINES REF D IN APPROPRIATE FORM FOR CONSIDERATION BY MINISTERS, AND FORWARD TEXT TO WASHINGTON BY NOVEMBER 11. ACTION REQUESTED: FINAL WASHINGTON COMMENTS ON EITHER OR BOTH KEY ELEMENTS BY 1800 BRUSSELS TIME NOVEMBER 13. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING NOVEMBER 7 DRC DISCUSSION OF DURATION OF HOSTILITIES AND WARNING TIME AS KEY ELEMENTS OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, CHAIRMAN (HUMPHREYS) SUGGESTED THAT DRC FORWARD TWO IS TEXTS (REF A AND B) AND TWO US TEXTS (REFS C AND D) AS ALTERNATIVES FOR DPC MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION. US REP (BGEN BWOMAN) RESPONDED THAT US CONTRIBUTION ON WARNING OF WAR (REF D) IS A LIST OF POINTS RATHER THAN A TEXT. US WILL PROVIDE A SUITABLE TEXT IN NEXT FEW DAYS, AND REFINE ITS TEXT ON DURATION OF HOSTILITIES.

2. DURATION AND INTENSITY OF HOSTILITIES. SACLANT REP (CAPT. MAYO) POINTED OUT EMPHASIS IN IS DRAFT ON CENTER REGION, ALLUDED TO COVERAGE OF MARITIME SCENARIOS IN DURATION OF WAR SECTION OF PRESENT MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, AND URGED INCLUSION OF MARITIME ASPECTS IN IS DRAFT (REF A) UK REF (MACDONALD) SUPPORTED SACLANT REP. CHAIRMAN PROMISED THAT IS DRAFT TEXT FOR DECEMBER DPC CONSIDERATION WILL MAKE CLEAR THAT MARITIME ASPECTS OF DURATION OF HOSTILITIES WILL BE COVERED IN FINAL MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE.

3. MC REP (GEN. VON ZUR GATHEN) SUGGESTED SEVERAL CHANGES TO IS DRAFT ON DURATION OF HOSTILITIES (REF A), URGING THAT MOBILIZABLE UNITS BE INCLUDED AS FORCES WHICH HELP DETERMINE NATO'S ABILITY TO MAINTAIN COHERENT FORWARD DEFENSE (PARA 4), AND PROPER REFERENCE TO AGREED NATO DOCUMENT (MC 55/2) WHEN DISCUSSING LOGISTICS COMMITMENTS UNDERTAKEN BY ALLIES
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(PARA 6).

4. FRG REP (GEN. SCHUNEMANN) AGREED WITH IS, RATHER THAN US DRAFT, STATING THAT QUOTE BONN IS NOT IN A POSITION TO BUY THE IDEA OF OUTLASTING THE WARSAW PACT. END QUOTE HE STATED THAT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT ALLIES TO HAVE SUFFICIENT WAR RESERVE STOCKS ON HAND TO SUPPORT A STRONG CONVENTIONAL FORWARD DEFENSE UNTIL INITIAL WP STOCKS ARE EXHAUSTED. MC REP AGREED, POINTING OUT US PAPER'S CONCENTRATION ON LOGISTICS, WHICH IS ONLY ONE OF MANY FACTORS TO CONSIDER CONCERNING DURATION OF HOSTILITIES. BELGIAN REFP (COL. TAYMANS) STATED THAT HE BASICALLY CONCURS WITH IS DRAFT, AND AGREES WITH FRG REP THAT CONCEPT OF OUTLASTING THE PACT IS

UNREALISTIC. HE COULD, HOWEVER, SUPPORT GOAL OF LASTING UNTIL THERE IS ALTERNATIVE CONCEPT. UK REP (MACDONALD) STATED THAT THE IS DRAFT IS MORE RELEVANT TO DURATION OF HOSTILITIES THAN US DRAFT AND THAT US THOUGHTS ARE BETTER PLACED UNDER THE RUBRIC OF PRIORITIES.

5. US REP REJOINED THAT REAL ISSUE IS WHETHER ALLIES CONSIDER SHORT WAR WITH EARLY RECOURSE TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS THE ONLY LIKLIHOOD, OR WHETHER NATO SHOULD PLAN FOR A CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY THAT CAN HOLD THE PACT AND NOT GO NUCLEAR FOR LACK OF REINFORCEMENTS OR SUPPLIES. EACH HAS ITS OWN CONCLUSIONS FOR LOGISTICS AND FORCE PLANNING. CHAIRMAN DUBBED THIS QUOTE TOO SIMPLISTIC A VIEW OF THE SITUATION END QUOTE. HE STATED THAT THE IS DRAFT DOES NOT ARGUE FOR SHORT WAR, BUT THAT PRESENT READINESS AND LOGISTICS SUPPORT OF NATO UNITS MAKE SUCH A RESULT INEVITABLE. MC REP QUICKLY AGREED, STATING THAT LACK OF CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY INCREASES LIKELIHOOD OF NECESSITY FOR AN EARLIER NUCLEAR DECISION.

6. SHAPE REP (COL. HOOTEN, US) ASKED WHETHER IS DRAFT CONSIDERS US RAPID REACTION AIRCRAFT IN JUDGING THAT COHERENT DEFENSE CAN BE MEASURED ONLY IN DAYS. CHAIRMAN RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY. SHAPE REP THEN QUESTIONED WHETHER IS DRAFT CONSIDERS PREPARATION DURING THE PERIOD OF WARNING TIME. MC REP REPLIED STIFFLY THAT THIS IS QUOTE NOT THE IMS VIEW END QUOTE. SHAPE REP ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION. MC REP REPLIED THAT IMS MEASURES CURRENT CAPABILITIES. EN SHAPE REP ASSERTED THAT THESE CAPABILITIES CAN CHANGE IN A SECRET

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MATTER OF HOURS, MC REP REPLIED THAT PRESENT STUDIES CURRENTLY IN PROGRESS UNDER HIS SUPERVISION SHOW THAT THEY CANNOT. US REP PRESSED THIS POINT, ASKING WHETHER IS DRAFT (PARA 6) REFERENCE TO FORCES ALREADY IN EXISTENCE TAKES ACCOUNT OF RESERVES AND REINFORCEMENTS, WHETHER OR NOT COMMITTED TO NATO.

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7. NORWAY REP (LEINE) AGREED WITH IS DRAFT, PROVIDED PARA 4 TAKES ACCOUNT OF MOBILIZABLE RESERVE FORCES. TURKEY (TOPUR) AND DENMARK (ROSENTHAL) REPS ALSO EXPRESSED BASIC AGREEMENT WITH IS DRAFT, BUT ASKED FOR CHANGES TO LANGUAGE CONCERNING THE FLANKS TO AVOID TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON LOW-INTENSITY HOSTILITIES. CHAIRMAN SAID THESE CHANGES WOULD BE INCLUDED IN FINAL IS TEXT.

8. WARNING OF WAR. CHAIRMAN OPENED DISCUSSION, OBSERVING THAT IS TEXT (REF B) AND US POINTS (REF D) ON SUBJECT ARE RELEVANT, AND THAT US WILL REVISE ITS THOUGHTS TO PUT THEM IN TEXTUAL FORM. FRG, NORWAY, TURKEY, MC, SHAPE, BELGIAN AND NETHERLANDS (CARSTEN) REPS ALL AGREED WITH IS DRAFT. UK REP EXPRESSED BASIC AGREEMENT, BUT ASKED THAT IS DELETE REFERENCE TO 9-13 DAYS WARNING IN CASE WHERE PACT MOBILIZES FOR 21 DAYS BEFORE ATTACK, SINCE MC-161 ITSELF DOES NOT SPECIFY NUMBER OF DAYS FOR THIS CASE.

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9. US REP SUPPORTED UK REP ON DROPPING REFERENCE TO 9-13 DAYS OF WARNING FOR THE CASE WHERE THE WP ATTACKS FOLLOWING 21 DAYS PREPARATIONS, SINCE NETTHER MC-161 NOR RECENTLY-AGREED MILITARY APPRECIATION ATTEMPT TO QUANTIFY DAYS FOR THIS CASE, INDICATING THAT ALLIED INTELLIGENCE WOULD DETECT MOBILIZATION IN QUOTE A FEW DAYS END QUOTE. HE THEN STATED THAT US REJECTS THE IDEA THAT A NATO DECISION TIME MUST FIGURE INTO CALCULATIONS ON ALLIED PREPARATIONS, URGING EMPHASIS ON PROPER USE OF WARNING TIME, IN THE FORM OF EARLY NATIONAL AND ALLIED ACTION TO MEET THE THREAT. CHAIRMAN RESPONDED THAT IS HAD CONSIDERED ONLY ACTION BY NATO, NOT BY NATIONS, IN ITS DRAFT. HE STRONGLY URGED RETENTION OF NUMBER OF DAYS OF WARNING, STATING THAT SINCE MC-161 DEPICTS WARNING TIMES OF 3 TO 8 DAYS FOR INTERMEDIATE SCENARIOS, MINIMUM WARNING TIME FOR A CASE INVOLVING FULL WP PREPARATION CAN BE DEDUCED AS 9 DAYS. US REP PRESSED HIM ON THE OUTER LIMIT OF 13 DAYS WITHOUT ANY EFFECT. MC REP SUPPORTED IS ANALYSIS.

10. US REP ARGUED THAT POSITIVE INTELLIGENCE DETERMINATION OF

IMPENDING ATTACK IS NOT A PREREQUISITE FOR INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE ALLIED ACTION AND THAT SUCH ACTION COULD AND SHOULD BEGIN A DAY OR TWO AFTER PACT BEGINS MOBILIZATION. FRG REP EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH IS NUMBERS ON DAYS REQUIRED TO DETERMINE CLEAR EVIDENCE OF IMPENDING ATTACK, AND MADE CLEAR THAT HE DOES NOT WANT THEM REDUCED. HE STATED THAT NATO DOES NOT KNOW WHAT WP IS DOING; THAT QUOTE THEY'RE MOVING AROUND ALL THE TIME END QUOTE. UK REP THEN MADE CLEAR THAT LONDON'S PROBLEM WITH STATEMENT OF NUMBER OF DAYS OF WARNING IS NOT THAT IT IS TOO SHORT, BUT THAT IT IS TOO LONG. CHAIRMAN STATED THAT IS WILL ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE PRIOR TO CIRCULATION OF REDRAFT FOR DRC CONSIDERATION NOVEMBER 15. US REP STATED US WOULD SUBMIT ALTERNATE VIEW.

11. FUTURE DRC WORK PROGRAM. CHAIRMAN COMMENTED ON DRC PROGRESS TO DATE ON KEY ELEMENTS. HE ADVISED THAT DRC WOULD CONSIDER DURATION OF HOSTILITIES AND WARNING OF WAR AGAIN NOVEMBER 15. HE EXPECTS TO CIRCULATE REVISED RESOURCES DRAFT, LAYING OUT ALTERNATIVES BY NOVEMBER 13. HE NOTED
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THAT US REP WILL ASK WASHINGTON WHETHER KEY ELEMENT ON INCREASED COOPERATION IS NECESSARY IN VIEW OF MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES RELATED THERETO AS PART OF STATUS REPORTS SECTION OF REGULAR AGENDA (SEPTTEL). HE THEN ASKED WHETHER DRC COULD CUPPORT REDUCTION OF LIST OF KEY ELEMENTS TO FOUR. SHAPE REP WITHDREW ELEMENT ON CHARACTERISTICS OF FORCES. MC REP SUGGESTED ELIMINATION OF WARNING OF WAR ON GROUNDS THAT IT CAN MERELY REFLECT AGREED INTELLIGENCE. CHAIRMAN DISAGREED, THINKING THIS KEY ELEMENT TOO IMPORTANT. CHAIRMAN THEN NOTED THAT KEY ELEMENTS AGENDA COULD INCLUDE:

- A. TWO ALTERNATIVES ON WARNING OF WAR
- B. TWO ALTERNATIVES ON DURATION OF HOSTILITIES
- C. A NUMBER OF ALTERNATIVES ON RESOURCES
- D. A US TEXT ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STRATEGY AND RESOURCES

WHICH COULD BE CONSIDERED IN PARALLEL WITH IS DRAFT ON PRIORITIES. HE ASKED FOR AGREEMENT ON THIS LIST. US REP RESERVED POSITION ON ELIMINATION OF KEY ELEMENT ON INCREASED EFFECTIVENESS THROUGH COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS (SEPTTEL). DRC WILL MEET NOVEMBER 13 ON RESOURCES, AND NOVEMBER 15 ON THE REAMINDER OF THE LIST. MCAULIFFE

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